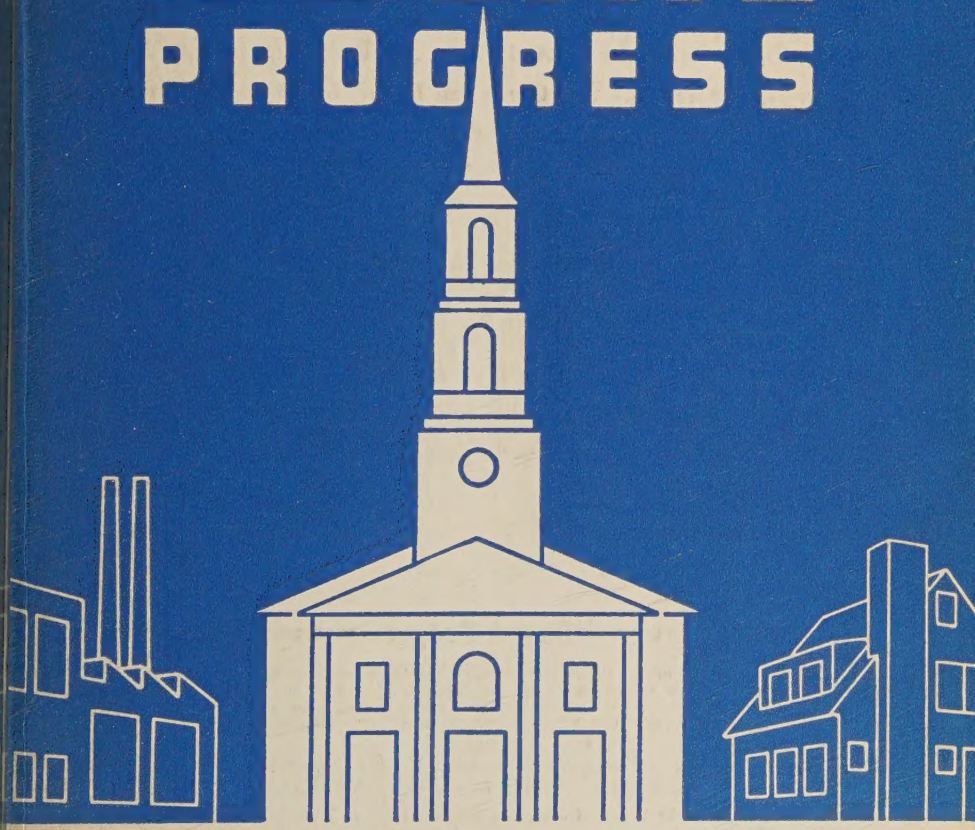
SOCIAL PROGRESS



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ocal Initiative in Community Building

fter Eighty Years

JUNE 1943

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Social Progress

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXIII JUNE, 1943 No. 10

Return from Violence

By Raymond B. Fosdick *

THREE years ago, under the heading "Night Over Europe," we attempted to describe the disaster which the war was bringing to universities and laboratories both in England and on the Continent. The processes of disintegration had already begun. Institutions dedicated to the extension of knowledge were being geared into the war machine. The necessities of military mobilization had decimated faculties and student bodies alike. Cultural values upon which civilization is based were being thrown to the winds as the intellectual blackout spread across half the world.

Today the long shadows of the blackout are lengthening inexorably over the United States. We are fighting for a future in which free institutions can live, but to achieve that end we are sacrificing values which, once they are lost, are not easily regained. The crisis presents us with a problem of delicate balance: how to win the war and at the same time preserve those intellectual ideals and standards, those "great things of the human spirit," without which a military victory would in the end be nothing but ashes. History shows us that it is possible to lose a civilization even while armies and navies are triumphant.

As in Europe, so here at home, liberal education has been discarded for the duration. Our universities are now instrumentalities of total war. Technology is left as the one subject which must be taught. History, economics, literature, philosophy—the whole range of the social sciences and the humanistic studies—have been crowded out of the picture by the pressure of higher priorities. Our young men are not to be trained in liberal understanding; they must be made into soldiers. Of necessity their education must be an education in violence. Their participation in the cultural and social

* President of The Rockefeller Foundation. Condensed from *The Rockefeller Foundation Review for 1942.*

heritage of civilization is adjourned. For the time being at least, their generation may not share in the humane tradition on which alone the building of a worth-while future depends.

Not only the undergraduate work of our colleges and universities but the activities of many of our post-graduate departments, and of our research staffs and laboratories, are being forced to pay the price which war, however necessary, inevitably exacts. On all sides, fundamental research, except as it relates to the demands of war, is being curtailed or abandoned, as scientists, technicians, and students are mobilized for practical types of service. Illustrations of this situation are to be found in almost every branch of knowledge, whether it is biophysics or genetics or agriculture or economics or anthropology or the fine arts. The completion of the 200-inch telescope in California has been indefinitely postponed. The cyclotrons of the country have for the most part been forced to shut down or greatly limit their programs in pure research. Graduate schools across the land are only partially occupied; faculties are becoming scattered. And this is only the beginning of the dislocation; the end is by no means in sight. In time of war the advance of knowledge for the sake of knowledge becomes a luxury which a nation fighting for its life apparently cannot afford.

These comments are made in the full realization that we have a war on our hands which must be fought to a victorious finish. But in the achievement of this purpose we need to keep in perspective the requirements of the future as well as the demands of the present. The treasure of learning and the liberal tradition cannot be reassembled, like automobiles in a plant, when the long convulsion is finished; nor can scientists, doctors, scholars, philosophers, and artists be fabricated over night. We need to keep soberly in mind the price we are paying for victory—not in terms of dollars, nor indeed wholly in terms of human life, but in terms of values by which the worth of a civilization is ultimately measured. Our enemies kill the humane tradition wherever they can; in the realm of the mind and soul it is their chief adversary. Our concern must be that in fighting this barbarian concept we do not inflict so serious a wound upon the intellectual and spiritual life of our country that though barbarism is conquered without it finds a low resistance to growth within.

The Corporation of Yale University, in a recent statement, expressed in the following words its feeling of responsibility as a "custodian of our cultural heritage":

The Corporation wishes to impress upon Yale graduates and upon the general public the danger of the impoverishment of the nation's mind and soul, should the less tangible values of our culture be allowed to shrivel while our energies are devoted

to the task of winning a war to maintain them. Of what worth is freedom from want, if our minds be on a lower intellectual level; or freedom from fear, if we have a less cultured life to defend; or freedom of speech, if we have poorer thoughts to express; or freedom of religion, if we bring a less enlightened faith to the worship of God?

A Faith Worth Fighting For

The fate of democracy, whatever it may be, is also the fate of our institutions of learning. While these institutions in earlier years helped to release the intellectual ferment out of which our modern democracy developed, they are today based upon the intellectual and spiritual foundations which democracy itself has laid. They can exist as long as democracy exists. The search for truth and the weighing of values cannot be maintained in a world from which freedom has been banished.

But freedom and democracy are not static principles. All values change from age to age and the interpretation of one generation is seldom the interpretation of another. The Declaration of Independence was a broader definition of freedom than that which came out of the Revolution of 1688, just as 1688 widened the freedom of Magna Charta. Today the conception of freedom is once again taking on a larger meaning. Our generation is thinking of the threat to freedom which comes from poverty and insecurity, from sickness and the slums, from social and economic conditions in which human beings cannot be free. This new conception of freedom is struggling to make itself articulate in many countries and will undoubtedly bring clarification and change to older points of view.

Like freedom, democracy is a conception which must also be reinterpreted from generation to generation. It is not a fixed creed. It is not a body of dogma. Its ultimate outlines were not circumscribed by the political concepts of the eighteenth century. Rather it is a growing, dynamic faith, a perpetually evolving adjustment between freedom and justice, between individual values and the demands of society. This adjustment, however, is never perfectly and finally attained; it remains a problem which mankind must solve again and again. "It is provided in the very essence of things," said Walt Whitman, "that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."

Democracy is a promise, a method of evolution, a maturing way of living, a conception of human relations that is rooted deep in the yearnings of many races and peoples. If this war has meaning and purpose it is to extend the idea of democracy vertically in America and horizontally throughout the world, wherever the soil is ready.

Here is a faith worth fighting for. Hitler boasts of his "new order."

We have a new order, too, based on the capacity of each generation to experience what Lincoln called "a new birth of freedom." The Nazis extol the virility of totalitarianism. In the evolution of democracy we have a world that is always young.

Return from Violence

War is violence, and on all sides we hear the counseling of those who urge the necessity of hate as a psychological prerequisite to victory.

But the insistent voice of reason tells us that violence and hate cannot serve as foundation stones with which to build a new world. Our conscience revolts against our present pattern of thinking, and we look forward to peace because we assume that the end of physical conflict will more or less automatically induce a mood in which hate and the hunger for vengeance will be dissipated.

If it were all as simple as this assumption would indicate, the future would seem less dark. The difficulty, of course, is that the mood of violence, resulting from war, tends to continue long after the actual fighting has stopped. It continues not only as a way of looking at old enemies but as a philosophy of life and conduct toward others, whether they be nations, races, groups, or individuals.

The complexity of the social and industrial order affords favorable opportunities for the concealment of injustice. Conscious of wrong, bewildered by facts as well as propaganda, men slip into some segment of the total circle—some loyalty, however fragmentary, which seems to them intelligible. With distorted perspective their own special advantages and their small fraction of society become not parts of the whole but the whole itself. They confuse love of freedom with their particular interest in freedom. To them whatever is justice for their faction is justice for all.

When such a state of mind possesses a group, the employment of force as a means of gaining ends becomes a logical consequence. The "state of mind of violence" breeds a "state of violence," and that which in Mary Follett's excellent phrase might have been "creative conflict" becomes social disintegration.

It is surely not too soon to discuss the problems of peace, which will prove even more difficult than the problems of war. Nor is it too soon to plan for the return from the mental attitude of violence and begin the formidable task which this about-face will involve. This is the task of the teachers, the philosophers, the clergy, the journalists, the statesmen, the poets, the novelists, the social scientists and all who search for universal values and totality of vision. Upon them must rest the burden after the war for our mental disarmament, and for seeing that the welfare of mankind is not forgotten in the conflict of lesser loyalties.

Local Initiative in Community Building

By Maynard L. Cassady *

THE war has imposed upon the Federal Government a vast responsibility to meet wholesale, and with speed, the great and manifold requirements of a global war. It is natural that in a democracy this situation should raise a question about local initiative. A democracy rests upon the sense of personal responsibility and power of self-initiation in its citizens, upon the maintenance of a tension between local and national initiative. The more local communities can do for themselves, the less remains to be done by state and Federal actions.

There is a battle going on behind the lines: a struggle against declining standards, against physical and spiritual inertia, against ignorance, superstition, and intolerance, against bad health conditions, emotional tensions, and despair. These are timeworn problems long familiar to the Church, but they array themselves before us in a formidable mass now. We are having to convert the entire peacetime machinery of the nation to meet a wartime situation. This has involved not only materials but people. You can reduce a mountain of iron ore to armor plate with far less risk to materials than to the people involved in that task. But the risk to people is far less if they themselves voluntarily assume these risks.

It is most significant that America has gotten under this task to such a large degree with voluntary effort. It is the importance of the volunteer and the free voluntary group or agency in the maintenance of local initiative that makes the work of the Office of Civilian Defense and of local defense councils of special relevance. The Civilian War Services are represented in local defense councils by planning and co-ordinating committees composed of representatives from those agencies and groups best equipped to deal with child care, recreation, family security, youth programs, consumers' education, social protection, et cetera. Churches having suitable programs or possessing resources and facilities should find representation on these committees.

Principles and Standards

The local defense council should have adequate representation from the various racial, economic, and social groups within the community. This cannot be enforced from without. It must come as a result of community actions. Prejudice and political ambition often interfere

* Staff member, National Organizations Section, Office of Civilian Defense. An address before the Conference on "Christian Education Faces Wartime Needs," Chicago, February 8, 1943.

with the realization of these aims. The local leadership can appeal to the statement of national policy, but it cannot ask the National Office to come into the picture and set the situation right.

Likewise, the rationing program is based, in the last analysis, on principles of fair play, justice, equal treatment for all. The success of rationing the limited supplies of things we need depends not upon compulsion but upon the faith of the average citizen in its justice and honesty. All elements of the population must be treated equally; none must be favored by virtue of political or social position, wealth or privilege.

Planning and Co-ordination

Human Welfare. Suppose the high public interest aroused in the need for services for children of working mothers should lead well-meaning groups in every community to start independently upon plans to "save the children." You can see at once how children might suffer instead from the resulting confusion. The child care committees in state and local defense councils seek to avoid this situation, not by force, for they have no power, nor by doing the thing themselves, but by making the service of co-ordination available. These committees know where the areas of need are, who is planning to undertake work in those areas, what resources they possess, what standards are to be maintained. The voluntary agencies remain the real operating power; their freedom and spontaneity are not impaired.

Food Production. The Office of Civilian Defense is aiding food production by recruiting farm labor through its defense council volunteer offices, and by helping to attain the goal of six million farm and twelve million town and city victory gardens. The nation is being called upon to feed impoverished areas of the world. Maximum production of food spells the difference between life and death for many people. As the war advances the cry for food will become more insistent, yet the task must be accomplished in the face of a diminishing man power. Through the local agricultural committee of the defense council, any group desiring to aid in meeting this farm labor shortage can get in touch with the local school authorities, the Farm Placement Service, or the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture and can learn where the need is greatest and what other groups are going to do.

This co-ordinating and planning function of the defense council Agricultural Committee does not impair or hinder the group's own values and its unique contribution. For example, a Church in a town of 6,000 in an agricultural county wants its young people to share in meeting the farm labor needs of the community. Twenty young people

volunteer. For some, it is their first farm work; for some, their first wage income. Now the Church is not simply interested in the farm labor problem, not even primarily so. Its chief concern is in the youths themselves, and in certain values to be gained from this experience—an understanding of the right use of money, enjoyment of work in the soil, comradeship in hard physical effort. These are values which no Federal agency could attain, yet they are of great significance in the making of a citizenship for tomorrow.

Let me sum up the goals which OCD seems to have set for itself: *First:* We want to see that people understand the whole job, not just the tiny fragment in front of them. Pittsburgh must understand something of the job to be done in Birmingham; Texas, that of New York; urban people, that of our rural population. Public agencies should understand the job of private agencies. We need to see our task steadily and see it whole, before we lay our hands to the plough and start our little furrow. That is the real thing we want to do. *Second:* We want to see a greater degree of harmony in our actions. The unity we seek is not secured by authority but by mutuality. It rests upon a co-operation voluntarily assumed. From the standpoint of national planning the defense council is the symbol of this goal, if it makes itself an instrument of democracy and not a tool of privilege or of political power.

Let me turn in closing to the Church member. What can he do? How is he to participate? How can the Church be the Church and yet be a part of a wartime community? A friend of mine in Government service said recently: "On one side is Government with its specific, unquestioned sphere of action, advising, planning, setting goals and standards in the interests of public good. On the other side is the Church, with its clearly defined, exclusive function of preaching the Gospel and conducting the worship of God. In between is an undefined territory possessed by neither side."

Now on the military battlefront this territory is called "no man's land." But on our community front Government and Church are not at war. They are facing a vast territory in between them, full of common tasks which both Church and Government want done: the care of children, the security of families, the strengthening of the schools, the organizing of the club life of young people, the fair and equitable distribution of limited supplies of necessities, the production and conservation of food, the recruiting of volunteers for all these tasks, the creation of an enlightened public opinion on questions arising from the war.

Let's call this "everybody's land." EVERYBODY'S LAND!

After Eighty Years

By John Beecher *

I

Lincoln was pushed into it
they are still telling us
yes after eighty years
they are still handing us that

I'd put it this way
Lincoln was just slow to catch on
slow to take hold
like many another man
trusting the experts but not himself . . .
not really believing
in what he was fighting for because
he hadn't made his own mind up

Once Lincoln made his mind up
and wrote:
"thenceforward and forever free" . . .
the war for Union
turned into a people's war
that could not be lost

Emancipation
kept England off the South's side
because the English working people
would not fight for slavery

Emancipation
brought the Negroes in on the
North's side and turned the scale
Lincoln said so then
but after eighty years
our school history books still have
nothing to say about the 200,000
Negro soldiers and sailors
who lost a third of their number
fighting for their freedom and the Union
while the South warned
"none will be taken prisoners" . . .

Behind these black fighters
were black workers for freedom
in hundreds of thousands on the docks
where munitions were unloaded
on Union fortifications from the Red
River to the James and Potomac
builders teamsters cooks and
nurses of the wounded
while by the hundreds of thousands
Negroes left their plows in the
fields of slavery
seeking refuge in the camps of
the blue armies
seeking work in freed fields
then having found it
they plowed to feed and clothe
blue armies while gray armies
went bare and hungry

After eighty years
we ought to know these things
better than we do

II

Eighty years
are a long while to be waiting
for somebody to finish
what Lincoln began.

Starting in 1863
Negro Americans with their own
blood and toil
have bought and paid for freedom
full and unconditional
ten times over
and now in 1943
Negro Americans
in the army and the navy
by the hundreds of thousands
are fighting for the world's freedom
as well as their own . . .

In Lowndes County Alabama
Negroes are more than 85 per cent

* Regional Representative of the U.S. Fair Employment Practice Committee and a great-grandnephew of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher of abolitionist fame. Excerpts from an address written in verse, delivered on the eightieth anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and published in the *Sunday Herald*, Bridgeport, Connecticut, January 3, 1943. Used by permission.

of all the people
but in all that county
not one Negro votes . . .
I saw a tumbledown tenant cabin
in Lowndes from which
three dark boys had gone North
two of them are college deans now
and the third a scientist . . .

Between 1935 and 1940
400,000 farms were wiped off the
southern map
400,000 families had to pull up stakes
more than 2,000,000 people cut adrift.
You've heard about the white farmers
from Oklahoma Texas and Arkansas
who went to California
and maybe you saw The Grapes of Wrath
but did you know
40,000 families were tractored
out in Alabama mostly Negroes? . . .

Where they all went
nobody exactly knows
some lived on where they were
in their little shacks and cabins
catching what wagehand work there was
sixty cents a day from can till can't
or picking cotton at 75¢ a hundred
some moved to town and went on relief
some hit the migrant trails . . .

I got to know these people
down in Florida
and I would like to say something
about them

They were living on the canal banks
in stinking quarters and barracks . . .
every morning before dawn came
they climbed on to trucks in the
quarters bound for the bean fields . . .
It would be dark night again
when they got back to the quarters
and all night long
the jook joints stayed open
so whiskey dice and women
could eat up the earnings of the day. . .

When the government came in
and started building a model camp . . .
the growers raised hell
what was the government's idea anyway
ruining the rental value of their
canal bank quarters
and fixing to ruin their labor with
a lot of useless luxury . . .

When the growers saw
the government was going ahead anyway
they said
"You will have to hire a bunch of
camp guards white men
and have them patrol the camp
with clubs and pistols . . .

Let me tell you what happened
I know because I was there
and I was in charge of the camp

When the day came to open
we just opened the gate
and let anybody in that wanted to
come in
no hand-picking no references or anything like that
it was enough for us
that a family wanted to live there . . .

We just got them altogether in the
community center
and told them it was their camp
and they could make it a bad camp
or they could make it a good camp
that was up to them
and there wouldn't be any laws or
ordinances except the ones they made . . .
through their elected council

Then for a week
they had a campaign in camp
with people running for office the
first time in their lives
and after the campaign
people voted for the people they
wanted to represent them
for the first time in their lives

and after it was over
they celebrated with a big dance in
the community center
and nobody got drunk and disorderly
and nobody cut anybody with a knife
and the only reason was
they had themselves a Council . . .
after that
the Council made the laws and ordinances . . .

Some of the men and women
couldn't so much as write their names
remember these were just country
Negroes the kind
Lowndes County planters say would ruin
the country if they had the vote . . .

All I know is
my eyes have seen
democracy work

III

Freedom
is a whole lot more
than just not being owned by somebody.
Lincoln knew that.

Freedom starts with not being owned
but it also means
having a say in how you are governed
a home you can call yours
land if you're a farmer
that you can stay on year after year . . .
and freedom means if you're a worker
the chance to learn the job of your
choice
and the right to work at that job

Now
the United States government is putting
up hundreds of millions of dollars
to teach new trades to citizens
both men and women
so they can build the planes the tanks
the ships and guns
we must have to win
I was down in Georgia
looking over this government training program
and I saw fine new shops
full of the most uptodate machinery
millions of dollars worth
and I saw where thousands of white
people
men and women were being taught
at the expense of the government
to weld ships and rivet airplanes . . .
but I didn't see any Negroes . . .
I had to go a long way in Georgia
to find any Negroes getting training
and when I found them
this is what I saw . . .

Bare classrooms with benches and
blackboards
not a lathe nor a drill press nor a
welding machine in the place
men trying to learn through their eyes
what could only be learned through
their hands . . .

Then there were the Negro carpenters
I talked to in Houston Texas
two hundred of them in Houston . . .
and the white carpenters wouldn't let
them in the union
and that meant they couldn't even work
on the Negro housing project
or on any kind of war building . . .

IV

"Thenceforward and forever free"
were Lincoln's words . . .

Isn't it about time
after eighty years
to make good on this . . .

How can the world's people believe
we mean to spread the light of freedom
to the world's four corners
when there is such darkness
in America's own house?

Soon
it will be too late

Organized Agriculture and Organized Labor

By Benson Y. Landis *

WHAT do you mean by the term 'organized agriculture,' anyway—isn't the farmer unorganized in an organized world?" The questioner lived in a well-known suburb and could think only of the agriculture of his boyhood thirty years ago. As this is written organized agriculture has just commanded a good deal more than a majority of Congress on several farm bills.

Well over half of our more than 6,000,000 operating farmers belong to at least one general farm organization or marketing co-operative. The "big four" of organized agriculture are: The American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, the National Council of Farmer Co-operatives, and the National Co-operative Milk Producers' Federation. It is this group that presented the main opposition to certain features of the Price Control Bill, enacted in October, 1942. It is this group that sees the war program for agriculture as simply one of an adequate price and a good supply of labor.

The big four of organized agriculture speak mainly for the upper half of our farmers, so far as income is concerned. The 1940 census recorded that over half of our farm land was in the hands of those who cultivated over 500 acres. There has been a rapid growth of large farms, made possible by mechanization. But there were also, in 1940, over 2,700,000 farms which used, traded, or sold on an average less than six hundred dollars' worth of products a year. The spokesmen for the small farmer, both owner and tenant, are not so well supported as those of the more fortunate farmers. The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, which is not a trade union, claims a membership of about 100,000. It has been a "school in economic co-operation." It is now the main "helper" of the Farm Security Administration, which is the only Federal Government agency especially created to carry on relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement among the impoverished and low-income farm people. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has also been influential in stirring up opinion in behalf of the cotton tenant, sharecropper, and laborer, but it actually speaks for relatively few members.

The trends of American life have been very unfavorable for the family-type farm, or the "middle-sized homestead," that was the home of many of our present-day city dwellers or of their fathers or grandfathers. Land has been slipping out

* Department of Research and Education. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

of the hands of these "freeholders," whom Jefferson called "the most valuable citizens." More than half of our good farm land is now believed to be cultivated by tenants, and farm operators had a lower equity in the total value of farm property in 1935 than in 1880.

Urbanization, industrialization, and commercialization of American life have proceeded without much thought for the welfare of those living away from cities. Our national process has been marked by metropolitan aggrandizement, and most of our wealth is concentrated in cities. Although farmers make up 23 per cent of the people, they have had during recent years less than 10 per cent of the total income of the people, for much of the work of the farm family is "unpaid."

There are, in normal years, about 3,000,000 farm laborers who work at certain seasons, or the year round, for wages. These are among the lowest paid workers in the nation, wages of thirty to fifty dollars a month for full-time work being customary during the years just prior to World War II. Many of these workers are "migrants"—people who travel in "cycles" to help to harvest the crops. This group has attracted the attention of organized labor, and the result has been a marked development of unions among workers planting and harvesting crops on large tracts of land, notably in California where mechanized farming on a big scale is frequent. These unions, however, embrace only a small proportion of these farm workers.

Organized labor consisted of about 3,000,000 workers in 1933. The latest estimates indicate that there may be 13,000,000 members of trade unions in 1943, including about one fourth of the total "working force" of the nation in wartime. Governmental policies since 1933 have greatly encouraged labor organization, as has the change in the "mental climate" of many American people. Organization of industrial workers is being widely regarded as a necessity for the workers. In a large nation organization on the part of both employers and employees seems essential, and both have the responsibility to promote the public interest in the process.

In general, the older the union the more stabilized have been the relationships between management and workers, since it is recognized, as indicated in the title of a recent Public Affairs Committee pamphlet, that *Workers and Bosses Are Human.* There are also trends toward industry-wide agreements, which means that regional differences are being reduced. Organized labor is today the chief supporter of the extension of our social security laws and has achieved new political power.

Organized agriculture and organized labor both have become formidable pressure groups. They are both

"producer-minded" and have yet generally to discover "the consumer interest." Both have failed to be helpful in the price control efforts of the Administration and have emphasized their own special groups over against the public interest. In this respect both have taken a leaf from the notebooks of manufacturers and financiers who once enjoyed a bargaining power in the lobbies that now must be shared with farmers and workers.

How much do organized labor and organized agriculture co-operate with one another? Very little. Only the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union is committed to thorough co-operation with trade unions having a special department for this purpose. From 1933 to 1942, the national Administration was largely a farmers' and workers' government; but the big four of organized agriculture have now split with the Administration on most issues.

Farmers are afraid they will be neglected in the processes of national housekeeping. They zealously urge their own cause, which is essentially that of attaining security while industrial workers press for new techniques of social security. Shall they work together or separately?

What does the public interest require of these two great producing groups in the population? Are we simply to have the crude bargaining in the lobbies that so often results in discrimination and reprisals? Or, may we hope for mutual aid among labor, farmers, management of industry, the professions, and consumers? May it be that by acquiring new vision and broader interests labor and agriculture will work together for decent social standards in both city and country?

May it be too that the Churches will conceive of their ministry of reconciliation in broad terms and bring together the leaders of all economic groups, enabling them really to know and to educate one another? What is the purpose of economic processes if not to meet the needs of all the children of men? Will the Churches recognize this opportunity, indeed this obligation, and learn how to help to transform these tremendous drives for security by farmers and workers into fruitful movements that will yet serve the welfare of mankind?

Democracy

"Democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people."—Harry Emerson Fosdick.

"It is not tolerance that one is entitled to in America. It is the right of every citizen in America to be treated by other citizens as an equal."—Wendell L. Willkie.

This Is Youth's Business

By Charles F. Wishart *

AMERICA has a great problem that is like Banquo's ghost in the tragedy of *Macbeth.* It will not down.

You are hearing something of it now. Ten years from now, I prophesy, it will be one of the foremost problems which the American republic must solve if it is to live. And the young people of today will be the citizens who will have to find that solution. I refer to the traffic in and the beverage use of intoxicating liquor. That there are evils connected with it, everybody will admit, even the men who make money by it. Whether these evils are incidental or inherent is the problem which we must meet and solve.

The old movement to deal with the alcohol problem started with the emotional and ended up with the political. This paved the way for political action, particularly the Eighteenth Amendment.

Undoubtedly there were evils connected with the Eighteenth Amendment. But what you will not read in liquor-subsidized papers and magazines is that there were fewer strikes, less absenteeism from work, larger per capita production in industry, and a larger percentage of savings during pre-prohibition years than at any period in American history.

My generation got this into the Constitution, then sat back, folded its arms, dropped off the educational processes, and said, "It's a good law, so what?"

I am convinced that the new approach must be not so much emotional and political as factual, scientific, social, and economic.

Strong drink is not only a cause of social evil; it is sometimes a result of other social evils. Thus, if economic injustice, poverty, and slavish drudgery drive a man to drink, we must get at those social evils.

Here is a cause that is calling for youth, for new leadership, for a new approach—an approach which shall combine science, religion, sociology, and economics.

Let us look at some of the facts. How much does America pay for its liquor? Take the matter of accidents, as a single phase of this business. Last year in this country 93,000 persons were killed by accidents, and nine million were injured. You will get the full significance of this only when you realize that conservative estimates charge from 40 to 60 per cent of the accidents, directly or indirectly, to strong drink. Apart from road accidents there are trag-

* President, The College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. Condensed with permission from *The Allied Youth,* April, 1943, Washington, D. C.

edies like the Cocoanut Grove night club fire, in Boston, where the stocks of liquor were more safely protected than the lives of the customers.

What have all these accidents cost us? The National Safety Council estimates that the accident cost is equivalent to the shutdown of the nation's entire shipbuilding and aircraft industries for 54 days a year. The loss of time, material, and damage to machinery was sufficient to have built 22,000 heavy bombers. Of course liquor was not responsible for all of this loss—but it is responsible for a very considerable percentage.

Now a word about the habit. There seem to be a percentage of people who can drink moderately through a lifetime without great apparent injury. I say "apparent" injury, because you find that when, in later life, diseases attack the liver, the lungs, or the heart, the habitual drinker is at a definite disadvantage. Nature has been keeping score on him, and his powers of resistance are definitely weakened.

I sat the other night with a company of insurance people in Philadelphia. My companion was one of the outstanding insurance experts of America, a man who teaches insurance in a great university. I asked him, "What is the practice of the insurance companies relative to the moderate drinker?" He replied, "Their attitude is entirely realistic; so far as I know every company in the country regards the drinking man as a poorer risk than the abstainer."

But there is a percentage of people who cannot get through life on the moderate-drinking basis. Liquor is not only a poison to them but a tyrant. Having once tasted it, they cannot let it alone. The habit grows and grows until it kills them.

About the personal habit, I call attention to two factors: the first being that one never knows which group of drinkers he belongs to until it is too late; the second, that we owe some social responsibility to the other fellow. Even if we can "take it or let it alone," the example may prove a fatal thing to the other chap who can't let it alone.

There must be a new approach to this problem, and young people must lead it. There must be a combination of religious and social workers and scientific research men and economists to educate the next generation to avoid the mistakes of the past and to keep law and public opinion marching side by side toward a more sober America.

"As our dreams are, so are we:
Our dreams are but the mirror of ourselves.
We shape in thought what soon we dress in deeds,
And, what we daily do within the heart, we grow to be;
Our visions are ourselves."

For Time

Human Relations

Never before have human relations been more tense, distraught, and without order. Total war, industrial strife, and racial antagonisms tend to condition men to fear, hate, and desperation. The ever-present danger is that out of such blindness of mind and spirit men may impose a spurious semblance of order.

Against this outcome stand those whose lives are Christ-centered and hence Christ-conditioned. These will work for an ordering of human relations in the community and out across the world, not upon the emotion of the passing moment but upon an understanding of what is lasting; not upon group self-interest but upon the well-being of all; not upon the conceit of race but upon the vision of the brotherhood of all men as children of God.

The Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to the General Assembly is concerned with the ordering of today's human relationships after the spirit and mind of Christ. Times such as these call for an ever greater familiarity by the people of our Churches with these social pronouncements. As usual this Report will be available for study without charge, on request, from the Presbyterian Book Stores or the Department of Social Education and Action.

"Juvenile Delinquency"

Words in themselves are unimportant; it is the meaning which they are intended to convey that is significant. Rethinking needs to be done regarding the phrase "juvenile delinquency," for it centers the responsibility for the delinquency upon the child, whereas, in truth, it is shared by society, the community, and the home. The courts make a distinction between "delinquent" and "neglected" children. In the former, chief responsibility is imputed to the child; in the latter the home is held mainly responsible.

The distinction between neglected and delinquent children is growingly recognized as tenuous; for every neglected child is a dangerous "potential" for delinquency, and every delinquent child indubitably points to a situation of neglect in the home.

But the home partakes of the delinquency of the community and of society. Overcrowded classrooms, substandard housing, deficiency of medical care, lack of recreational facilities for children who need them, emotional instability due to racial prejudice and discrimination—these are in the environment in which the child grows up, and adults, not children, are responsible for them. The delinquency of a child is in large

measure not his own but a reflection of delinquency in his environment.

This needs to be recalled in the rise of "juvenile delinquency" that is characteristic of these days. Certainly these times are "out of joint"! It should surprise no one that the crimes of today are less against property, such as stealing and burglary, and more against persons, such as rape and assault. In short, criminal tendencies today reflect the disruptive and violent characteristics of total warfare. In a tragic sense "juvenile delinquents" are up to date; they are indeed children of today.

We will help these delinquent children, children of the times, not by loading upon them the guilt and the shame, but by sympathetically understanding the mood and circumstances of the hour into which they are caught up. And, furthermore, we will aid them as the Churches of this country give of their resources, both in personnel and in equipment, to measures that rob the environment of youth of some of its more pressing delinquent urgings.

Who Is a Minority?

It is reported that of the 77 million babies born annually, only 17 million are of white parents; the remaining 60 million are born to peoples of color. This is striking evidence of the provincialism of our familiar use of the term "minority." In the United States, people of color are a racial minority because white people predominate. But within the United Nations these two groups are reversed, for people of color form the majority while white people become a minority. Whether one is in the majority or is in a minority, therefore, depends on where one stands.

Part of the solution of racial relationships is the recognition that somewhere each race is at the receiving end of civil liberties. God, after whom the whole family on earth is named, has made the white race a minority. Whatever may have been his purpose in so doing, it should become our teacher, reminding us of our stake, as a racial minority, in the observance of civil liberties throughout the world.

And from this perspective the practice of civil liberties everywhere becomes part of a worldwide pattern. When the dominant white majority in the United States discriminates against those of color within its borders, they thereby weaken the fabric of racial relations throughout the world. Here is practical confirmation of the spiritual truth in Christ's words, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

War Service Reporter

Action on the Home Front

By Walter Getty *

IN HUNDREDS of Presbyterian Churches across the country new programs of activity are being carried out. These are revitalizing the life and work of the local Church and are preparing the way for a more aggressive program of action in the postwar days to come.

These Churches are in camp communities where almost overnight many thousands of servicemen and women have been established in camps or schools or bases adjacent to the community. Our Churches in these places constitute the "Presbyterian Home Front" as they move forward attacking the forces of evil and offering a spiritual ministry to these great hosts of men and women. All the values of practical evangelism, of missionary outreach, of personal contacts, of the application of the social gospel, are found in the expanding programs of these Churches.

Through the money secured in the Wartime Service Fund, the Committee on Camp and Church Activities is giving financial aid to 85 Churches, a total of over $70,000. Hundreds of additional Churches are carrying on under their own support, but all are a part of the total effort of spiritual ministry to the armed forces.

The Churches receiving aid make regular reports to the Committee on Camp and Church Activities and from these reports some interesting and challenging facts are secured. For one thing, the minister himself is adapting his messages to the needs of the soldiers and sailors and to the changed community conditions which he confronts. This means a greater emphasis on the essential things of the Christian Gospel, and a fresh grasp of our Christian faith in "Jesus Christ, and him crucified" as the world's only hope.

The second characteristic of this action on the home front is the type of program being offered. Although these programs are as varied as the needs of the camp community, certain features are common to all: hospitality, worship and religious activities, social and recreational life, personal counseling and service activities.

Hospitality means everything to the men and women in service. They long for a touch of home, and in Church after Church the homes of

* Office Executive of the Presbyterian Committee on Camp and Church Activities.

the congregation are opened to them. Many Churches are providing lodging, especially on Saturday nights when every camp community is taxed to the utmost to provide for the men on leave. The Committee on Camp and Church Activities has opened two outstanding Hospitality Houses, one at Miami, Florida, and the second at Atlantic City, New Jersey. A third center is in preparation at Philadelphia.

Much thought is being given to worship and religious activities for the men and women of the armed forces. It is here that the Churches are discovering new possibilities in regular Church services, in the Church School, young people's meetings, discussion groups, open forums, and such special features as fellowship hours, candlelight Communion services, and breakfast Bible classes. A soldier at the First Presbyterian Church, Colorado Springs, Colorado, recently summed up the feelings of great groups of soldiers regarding the value of Sunday worship and religious activities when he said: "It gives us a lift for the whole week."

Social and recreational life is given much prominence in the camps. The Churches also are discovering new opportunities for character-building through such a program.

Personal counseling takes many forms. Practically every report tells of some serviceman who wanted, longingly, to "talk things over" with the minister or some Church member who could understand his problems. Through these personal contacts many a man has been led to a larger life in Christ or to a decision for the Christian life. Personal help is also being given to the wives of officers and servicemen.

The Churches are measuring up to their largest opportunities in furnishing devotional literature, books, magazines, phonograph records. A Church in California has set up recording machines so that soldiers may make records to send home. Another Church has formed a camera club. The First Presbyterian Church, El Paso, Texas, has a soldier's picture exhibit where pictures are posted with the name and home town of the soldier.

One of the best things provided by the Churches is the opportunity given these soldiers and sailors to have a part in the regular activities of the Church. In Fairbanks, Alaska, the pastor of our Presbyterian Church, Rev. N. Harry Champlin, mentioned the need of a new Communion table, and a sergeant asked if he and some of his pals might make a gift for this purpose. Many contributions have been made by the men to the Wartime Service Fund. Such activities have great promise for the future, and all these program activities point the way to a forward movement among our Presbyterian Churches.

Sanctuary

Summer—1943

Meditation [1]

As a bird flees to its mountain, my soul seeks shelter in the strength and majesty of the presence of God.

I grow still, and know that thou art God. Thou art the same yesterday, today, and forever.

I do not fear the future. I do not shrink from any test or trial which may come to me, knowing that it will be given to me in that hour what I shall do or what I shall say. I dismiss all anxiety from my mind. I am conqueror and more than conqueror through Him that loves me.

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, I think on these things. For, as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.

Unto thee, O my God, I will continually resort. I shall come into thy presence. Thy Kingdom is within me. In returning and rest I find my strength.

As I think on the love of God, I am filled with tenderness for all mankind.

As I wait now in the silence, there will come to me some great resolve or the impulse to some small act of human kindness which I shall perform.

I praise thee, O God, and give thee thanks. I have entered into the joy of the Lord.

Prayers

Let us pray for the Kingdom of God on earth, as for ourselves, our Church, our country, our cause, and all sorts and conditions of men in a world at war:

Thanks be to thee, O God, for the order and constancy of nature, summer and winter, seedtime and harvest, and the loveliness of each season in its turn; for a well-ordered community, wise government, and just laws; for education and the joys of the mind through letters, art, and science; for the work we have to do, and for strength to do it; for whatever of good there has been in our past lives, and for the hopes and aspirations that lead us on toward better things; for the discipline of life through which we are brought nearer to the common life of man; and for our high calling as servants on earth of thy Kingdom in heaven; we give thee thanks. Amen.[2]

O Thou, who searchest the hearts of men: Look with mercy upon our sins, especially our sins against the truth; forgive them and help us to walk this day in the light. Deliver us from timid silence; give us courage to speak the truth with boldness and grace, to speak the truth with love, and save us in thought, word, and deed from the perils of self-deception.[2]

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[1] From *Prayers Personal and Social*, by James Myers. Commission on Worship, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York City. (See review on page 29.) Used with permission.

[2] From *Prayers for Private Devotions in War-time*, by Dean Willard L. Sperry. Harper & Brothers, New York City. (See review on page 29.) Used with permission.

O God, in whom the many generations of mankind live and move and have their being: We remember with gratitude all those who have laid down their lives in the service of their country. May no forgetfulness of ours make them to have perished as though they had never been. To the end that these dead shall not have died in vain may we receive with fit humility the fruits of their sacrifice, and carry on to further fulfilment their dearest hopes for this their land and ours. Amen.[2]

We stand in thy presence, O Lord, and pledge ourselves to thee. Take us, our strength, our means, our all, us and our land, for thine. We dedicate the country Thou hast given us to a purer life, a more religious, unselfish patriotism, a deeper loyalty to the great Kingship of thy Son. Work out in her, by her, what purposes thou wilt. She is not ours but Thine henceforth. We are thy servants. Give us willing and patient hearts and hands till thou shalt create in all nations thy chosen pattern of Christian government and Christian liberty. We know not how to speak. Read thou our hearts and see our devotion, for Thou art our God. Amen.[3]

A Litany: Where Is My Country? [4]

Who has decreed that "my country" shall include only the geographical area bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Canada and Mexico?
Who has decreed that "my country" shall embrace only those men, institutions, and events which lie between the year 1492 and the present?

God help me to define my country.

Where Isaiah lifted up his voice for human justice, there is my country.
Where Plato announced the reality of the spiritual, there is my country.
Where St. Francis lived the compassionate life, there is my country.

God help me to broaden my allegiance, not limiting it by little lines, or by accidents of time and space.

Where Luther struck for the liberty of the soul, there is my country,
Where Gandhi fights a swordless fight for freedom, there is my country.
Where Schweitzer heals the bodies of the black man, there is my country.
Where Kagawa champions the underprivileged, there is my country.

God help me to own my country wherever men and women lift the flag of justice, or of freedom, or of truth, or of peace, or of fellowship.

Wherever men are enslaved in body for the sake of gain, or in mind for the sake of power;
Wherever the dark gods of superstition and prejudice are served;
Wherever eyes are turned only toward the past fearing to face the future;
There lies my enemy country.

God help me to protect my country from all such enemies.

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action;

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake. Amen.

[3] Phillips Brooks, 1865.
[4] Adapted from Herman Heissig and Rabindrinath Tagore, in the West Jersey Presbyterial Calendar.

The Workshop

"Christian Church and World Order." The month of November will see throughout the Protestant Churches a strong concerted emphasis on the Christian Church and world order. In this program there is united co-operation by the Christian Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches, the Foreign Missions Conference, the United Council of Church Women, the Home Missions Council, and the International Council of Religious Education.

The Presbyterian Church through the Department of Social Education and Action is co-operating in this program. At this point it may be of interest to indicate that the Board of Christian Education has acted favorably on the request of the International Council of Religious Education that the Director of the Department of Social Education and Action serve for a year as Acting Staff Associate on Christian Education for World Order of the International Council. This in no way lessens the relationship or responsibility of the Director to the Department but, in effect, will be of help both to the Department and to the International Council in this common interest and program.

Plans for this interdenominational emphasis include:

1. Christian World Order Sunday to be observed on November 7.

2. A Christian Mission on World Order. This mission will bring a team of three or more distinguished leaders to more than 125 centers across the country for one-day convocations on the Pillars of Peace.

The Presbyterian Program

Presbyterian Churches are urged to:

1. Plan early for the local Church observance of Christian World Order Sunday on November 7;

2. Plan to co-operate with the Christian Mission on World Order and similar efforts wherever possible and feasible;

3. Project at once plans for a four-week program of study on the theme "United Nations for Peace" during the month of November;

4. Enlist the families of the Church for active participation in this nation-wide emphasis on postwar study and planning. Plan to use suggestions and materials provided to help parents and children to develop a Christian understanding and attitude toward peoples and problems involved, through conversation, study, and worship.

5. Unite with other Church groups in a series of broadcasts over local stations on the contribution of the Church to world order, thus developing the Church as a potential source of leadership thinking.

Program and Promotion Materials. For use by S.E.A. Committees and by study groups helpful materials will be available. Of special importance will be the new packet discussion guide, *The Christian Church and World Order*, Study II: *United Nations for Peace.* For further information write to the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

Day Care Centers. The coming of summer will increase the need for day care of children of working mothers a hundredfold. With the schools closed for vacation, *more* children than ever will be left to their own devices, and their warm weather activities are bound to result in an increase of welfare problems unless we anticipate this need immediately. These children are not "problem" or "delinquent" cases, but normal American boys and girls who are the victims of war and war industry. With one, or often both, parents

away all day they are deprived of family stability and companionship, recreational opportunities, and protection from the many influences that undermine a happy, healthful childhood.

This is true enough of children living in our crowded cities, but in the boom towns and trailer camps the problem is one that reaches alarming proportions. What of the children who must play all day in and around trailers with not one tree for shade for miles around, or in hastily built lean-to houses with inadequate and often no drainage or plumbing facilities whatsoever? What of the children no longer able to get adequate lunches in school, or unable to find "something to do" or "some place to go"?

Judge Fay L. Bentley, of the District of Columbia Juvenile Court, reporting to Congress, declared that there should be greater participation by the Churches in arranging recreation facilities for young people. Churches in a community have the facilities for such a program, but their task must be intensified this summer rather than postponed until fall. They can assist in recruiting volunteers both for the care of younger children and the supervision of recreation for the older groups. They can interest other Churches in the community in a child-care project that will result in cutting down the hazards that now face our children.

BEGIN NOW by—

1. Making a survey in the community and determining at once how many children from 2 to 16 years *are* or *will be* in need of day care; whether such a program, if one has been started, will be adequate for the summer; and if it includes recreational opportunities for children.

2. Discussing the findings of the survey with your pastor or your Church women's group. Confer with other Churches in the community and solicit their interest and co-operation.

3. Setting up a program for the children if none exists in the community. Write to the Department of Social Education and Action for details and information. Address Helen A. Smiley, Special Field Service, Child Care and Family Welfare, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

BEGIN NOW! Remember, war takes no vacation. We, too, must be on the alert during the summer to help our children when they so much need parents, home life, companionship, health, and happiness.

Political Action. Action by the Social Education and Action Committee of the Synod of Nebraska in obtaining a state law requiring premarriage and prenatal health examinations began in 1938 when we took as one of our major objectives the matter of marriages. We corresponded with similar committees in neighboring states and found that few had any legislation requiring freedom from venereal disease before marriage. At the 1939 meeting of synod a recommendation was adopted endorsing such legislation for our state. The 1940 synod adopted a resolution proposed by our committee to be placed before the legislature, shortly to convene. A bill was introduced at that session and seemed to be making progress when it was killed with some lame explanation about certain Church groups being opposed to it. We began at once an enlarged educational program and a plan to watch the legislation more closely.

So, when the legislature met this winter, bills drawn up by the Department of Health were introduced. One of our Presbyterian ministers was a member of the legislature, and several progressive elders from our Churches took an interest. Several of the presbyteries had endorsed the legislation, nearby pastors to the capitol attended the hearings, and the bills finally passed without a dissenting vote.

We feel that such legislation is but a part of a broad program to produce better homes by more adequate preparation for marriage. *Reported by Howard Osborne.*

Study and Action

SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION EMPHASES—1943-1944

Postwar World Order

* ***The Christian Church and World Order.*** A Packet Discussion Guide to a general survey of the bases of a just and lasting peace, proposed plans of world organization, and the tasks of reconstruction demanding first place at the close of hostilities. For study and discussion groups. *50 cents.*

* ***The Christian Church and World Order*, Study II: *United Nations for Peace.*** A Packet Discussion Guide. Ready early in September.

* ***Christianity—Solvent of World Conflict***, by John Foster Dulles. Reprint from SOCIAL PROGRESS. *Free.*

* ***Christians Face the Postwar World***, by Paul S. Heath. *15 cents.*

** ***A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace.*** *25 cents.*

Statement of Political Propositions for a Just and Durable Peace. *2 cents each in quantities of 100 or more.*

From War to Work—How to Get Full Employment and Keep It Going. Special issue, "Calling America" Series. *Survey Graphic*, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. *50 cents.*

Wartime Community

* ***Community Clinic***, by Wilbur La Roe, Jr. A plan for the study of four major threats to community well-being, a survey of the local community in relation to these social ills, and the inauguration of suitable preventive or corrective measures for control or elimination of the social "infection." For individual reading or group study and action. *25 cents.*

** ***Wartime Services of the Churches.*** A Handbook. Designed for the guidance and use of the local Church, seeking to serve fully the wartime needs of its community. *10 cents.*

* ***The Church—Social Sanctuary for Children.*** Reprint from SOCIAL PROGRESS. *Free.*

** ***United We'll Stand.*** *The Journal of Educational Sociology*. Special issue with articles by distinguished writers. "Designed to illuminate the problems of intergroup relations, and to provide materials for their solution." *Single copy, free.*

Community Action for Children in Wartime. Six community action programs. Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. *Free.*

Moral Goals for Modern Youth, by Eleanor T. Glueck. A discussion of the impact of war on the personal lives of young people and the ways in which these may find emotional stability, especially in regard to sex. Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. *15 cents.*

Democratic Issues in Food Production. Nutritional standards and food conservation for ourselves and our allies in time of war. Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. *15 cents.*

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* Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.

** Order from Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

About Books

Pacific Charter: Our Destiny in Asia, by Hallett Abend. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.

This book is a "plea for prejudice" and a warning against a soft peace in the Pacific. As correspondent of *The New York Times* in the Far East, the author has seen how Japan rules and oppresses the peoples in the lands which she has overrun; these facts changed him from "a friendly admirer of Japan into a questioning critic and finally into a condemning judge" and motivate the fundamental article of his Pacific Charter, which is that the defeat of Japan must also "involve the absolute crushing of her power to assume the role of the aggressor for at least the next twenty-five years."

The complete disarming of Japan, the discrediting of her piratical military caste, the deposition of her ruling house, the reconstruction of her governmental and educational systems, her permanent eviction "from all the Asiatic mainland and from all the islands and bases east of Asia which she has acquired since 1894"—these are in outline the provisions by which Mr. Abend would have the United States "clip Japan's claws." He is right in assuming that it will take a generation for the Japanese people to recover from "an ingrained false belief in their own fancied superiority to other peoples and a conviction that the unique structure of their state and the antiquity of their dynasty entitled them to rule and exploit half of Asia."

As far as the other peoples involved in the Pacific War are concerned, Mr. Abend would today promise Korea freedom and eventual independence, would pledge to China "the righting of all the wrongs she has suffered at the hands of Japan during the last half century," and to Manchuria the end of Japanese tyranny. He sees the need of tough-mindedness as well as softheartedness with respect to Filipino independence. He sees in Thailand one of the gravest problems facing the peacemakers. He would "reconcile the Indonesians to a period of tutelage to end with freedom of decision regarding their ultimate destiny." Malaya and Burma he sees as American problems, for with the decline of British prestige he believes that these peoples will "look to us to be at least a firm umpire and adjudicator." His interpretation of India is based upon his analysis that the actions of Mr. Gandhi arise from a belief that the Axis will win the war. He concurs with the Australian demand that the Pacific struggle be not considered as a subordinate segment of the general conflict and issues a warning that if Japan "is left in undisturbed possession of her newly conquered territories for twelve or eighteen months more her power may well double."

This book has already aroused much controversy and probably will arouse more—and that is its chief value to us at the present moment. Embedded in the argument are personal glimpses into an active and exciting life spent in the Far East and accounts of some of the most extraordinary journalistic exploits of recent years.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

Basis for Peace in the Far East, by Nathaniel Peffer. Harpers. $2.50.

No one could write profitably on this subject without firsthand information, realistic thinking, and an idealistic point of view. The author qualifies on all these points. He has lived for many years in the Orient, is now an associate professor of international relations in Columbia University, and really wants an enduring peace.

The questions Mr. Peffer sets out to an-

swer are: Can we prevent future wars in the Far East? If so, how? Is there a basis for enduring peace in the Far East? If so, what is it?

He thinks that peace is possible; that it is not necessary for Asia to repeat the age-old folly of Europe in the perpetuation of wars; that the solution in Asia is much simpler than in Europe, because there are fewer ingrained antipathies.

The first point in the solution is to "crush Japan, drive it out of the Asiatic continent, and then give it a just, even generous peace." This is reiterated to the degree of a rallying cry. The big mistake in the last war, the author believes, was that we did not crush Germany. We must not make that mistake again. But, having crushed Japan, we must be generous and give it economic opportunities that will raise its standard of living.

The second point in the solution is to "liberate China, make it independent in law and fact. Voluntarily withdraw from it politically ourselves as completely as we forcibly eject Japan. Give it assistance toward making itself strong." Then we must "set in motion at once the process of introducing self-government in the colonies of Southeastern Asia."

Finally, Mr. Peffer declares, we must renounce all imperialism, give up "the preferred political positions we had" and "the economic monopolies we hoped to keep or expected to get."

Thus we proceed from realism to idealism, from force to justice, from special privilege to service, from war to peace. The author does not say it will be easy, but only that it will be easier than the only alternative—recurrent war.

M. Willard Lampe

Cripps, Advocate Extraordinary, by Patricia Strauss. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc. $3.00.

Here is a basic text in biography, politics, or sociology. Mrs. Strauss is a writer of experience and ability. She is a personal friend and political colleague of Sir Stafford Cripps. She has written the history of the development of a political and social philosophy in England during the lifetime of one man—and has shown the influence of that man on the shaping of that philosophy.

This book is a strong argument for effective political action on the part of Christians. In the Cripps family it is traditional. A Cripps mother wrote her oldest son: "You will find heaps and heaps of work . . . waiting to be done, and never imagine that God has not given you power to take your share in helping the world to better and nobler things."

That kind of faith has made it possible for Sir Stafford Cripps to stand by his principles and let political prestige and position go by, so that when he was expelled from the Labor Party he could say to those who were urging party loyalty: "I am loyal to my principles, not to any party machine." As you read the book you discover a man inspired by deep moral convictions, inflamed by the desire to see those convictions translated into social reality, and unafraid of political or personal consequences.

We discover that Britain has learned a number of lessons from the war. The conservative bogey of finance was an early war casualty. The people had been told that unemployment was "inevitable" and that although people lacked adequate food and clothing the cause of the unemployment was overproduction; that the government would be ruined if it attempted to provide work or keep families in good health. Now the people have decided that if finance can be adjusted to defeat a foreign enemy it could be adjusted for the nobler purpose of providing the people with work and goods during peacetime.

There is an excellent plug for the Church in this book. In 1942, the writer indicates, when the Conservative Party warned that there was need to return to religion be-

cause of the real danger of a kind of "emotional materialism" the Church of England did not share that fear of materialism. Mrs. Strauss quotes the Malvern Conference in its demands for social reconstruction.

For Christians who are seriously interested in "social progress" here is a carefully documented textbook!

EVELYN LUCHS

A Time for Greatness, by Herbert Agar. Little, Brown. $2.50.

"Our world is in danger of dying—civilization has not taken a fall because it stepped on something slimy. But something slimy was present, because civilization was getting soft spots." Here is the straight-from-the-shoulder premise of a sermon by a layman for laymen. This is no book for soothing and desultory reading. Rather, it is a burning indictment of the spiritual and moral lethargy that has made us weak as a nation and a passionate challenge to be as great as we may be.

Mr. Agar is no parlor philosopher mouthing current cynical generalities. As the editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* an organizer of the Fight for Freedom Committee, and the president of Freedom House, he knows what he is talking about and he has won the right to say it. The book is, in large part, an application of both his indictment of what we are and his hope for what we may become to the vital issues in business, labor, politics, and civil liberties. In each area there is the one demand—"that we work out a faith which all men can understand and which most men accept. Only with that final weapon in our hands can the power of darkness be beaten."

WILLIAM F. WEFER

Christian Bases of World Order, The Merrick Lectures for 1943. Abingdon-Cokesbury. $2.00.

This volume comprises the Merrick Lectures, 1943, which were a part of the Conference on the Christian Bases of World Order at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, March, 1943. The twelve lecturers, experts in the fields of religion, political and social economy, foreign policy, race issues, public health, and education, discuss from the Christian point of view the fundamental issues and the Christian principles involved in world order and the function of the Christian Church in the maintenance of world order.

Reinhold Schairer, the author of the final lecture of this series, says: "The world after victory will be a different world. The forces of destruction cannot be destroyed by military victory alone. They will still be loose, attacking everything that has not the strength of forces superior to destruction."

To know, to understand, and to use these forces is peculiarly the mission and function of religion, and it must be the goal of the Christian Church and of every Christian in it to enlist wholeheartedly in the creation, at the war's end, of "conditions under which free men can undertake to meet the fundamental needs of men and society" which "everywhere will still press for solution." This is an important book for men and women who wish to direct their energies of spirit and mind toward this end. E. G. R.

Plans for a Post-War World and **Independence for India,** compiled by Julia E. Johnsen, The Reference Shelf. H. W. Wilson. $1.25 each.

These are the two most recent numbers of this highly useful series of source books. The first volume, as its title indicates, provides debate and discussion materials from many sources and on many aspects of the problem of postwar planning. In addition to 29 articles and addresses the book provides excerpts from periodicals, an extensive, classified bibliography, and a list of organizations from which further information may be secured.

The second book deals with the important yet little understood problem of In-

dian independence. The material has been carefully chosen to present the issues without bias and with a full recognition of the sincerity of both nations. Articles, addresses, and excerpts from periodicals are grouped under three main heads: General Discussion, The Case for India, The Case for Great Britain. The appended bibliography also follows this same organization.

These two books are invaluable sources, conveniently arranged for the use of leaders and members of debate or discussion groups in school, college, Church, or community. E. G. R.

Southern Harvest, written and engraved by Clare Leighton. Macmillan. $3.50.

To see ourselves and our land and our people as others see them is a crying need today when mutual understanding is recognized as the essential stuff of which a brotherly world must be made. This book, written and illustrated by an Englishwoman with warm affection and understanding of the "people of the earth," is a long step in that direction. Clare Leighton, a noted author and artist, says this book is her attempt to thrust her roots deep into the new earth of this continent, because her true happiness is always with the people on the land rather than in the cities.

So one finds hers an arresting and understandable voice among the vast number, of every timber and temper, who have sought to interpret what someone has called "that emotionally turbulent section of the United States known as the South." Clare Leighton presents in poetic prose and in wood engravings of amazing vitality and beauty, not a case for or against the people or the land, but a story of people, warm and human, and of places and situations which she has seen through understanding and sympathetic eyes. The book itself is fine in materials and workmanship; it is the sort of book one likes to look at, to handle, and to own. E. G. R.

The Logic of Belief, by D. Elton Trueblood. Harpers. $2.75.

The author, professor of the philosophy of religion and dean of the chapel of Stamford University, discusses in this volume the basic assumption that the challenge to religious faith today rests not upon questioning the validity of certain beliefs but upon doubt of the integrity of a believing mind.

In considering the religious and philosophical approach to reality, Dr. Trueblood notes carefully the nature of evidence and shows that we accept many things on faith. The type of faith which we use most readily is faith in some authority. The only authority in questions of aesthetics and other related ideas is the authority of disciplined insight.

The answer to questions about the nature of the world depends upon the type of disciplined insight which is used. Even if the pragmatic assumption is granted, allowing some validity to every type of insight, the various types must still be weighed. Dr. Trueblood does this and shows that the only theory which presents an alternative to theistic belief is a naturalistic interpretation.

In support of a theistic realism the author submits evidence from nature, from experience, and from history. He does an excellent job of marshaling and presenting the arguments.

Dr. Trueblood discusses also the difficulties in regard to theistic belief. The two problems arising from scientific theory are in the process of being resolved by science itself. The psychological difficulty of wishful thinking applies equally well to all types of thinking including its own premises. Merely saying that wishing a thing to be true thereby makes it false is evading the fact that a thing can be both true and wished to be true. The only stumbling block to theistic belief, therefore, is the age-old problem of evil. This cannot be solved, but it is important to

realize that the best answers are given by those who know the fellowship of pain.

The Logic of Belief is, in the judgment of this reviewer, one of the best American summaries of the problem of philosophical thought and its validity in respect to the believing mind which has appeared.

JOHN FIELD MULHOLLAND

Abundant Living, by E. Stanley Jones. Abingdon-Cokesbury. $1.00.

Prayers for Private Devotions in War-time, by Willard L. Sperry. Harpers. Paper, 75 cents.

Prayers Personal and Social, by James Myers. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. 15 cents.

These three devotional guides are planned for the use of individuals in the pressing present. But because no man lives to himself alone, nor prays for himself alone, the meditations and prayers are broad in the scope of their spiritual concern.

Dr. Jones has prepared his book for daily use throughout a year. The material is grouped into weekly units each on one theme, so that the book may be used also by groups for weekly study and discussion, or, since the work is a continuous development of the theme "Abundant Living," it may be read through as any other book might be.

Dean Sperry prepared this book originally for distribution to chaplains in the United States Chaplain School at Harvard. Its wider use is now assured by reason of the range of prayer themes and the spiritual insight evident in their selection. Certainly, to many, these will become, as Dean Sperry hopes, "the form and voice of our personal firsthand experience."

James Myers combines in these prayers a strong spiritual quality, a deep sense of social need and of personal responsibility, a clear vision of what man may be, and an unwavering confidence in the all-powerful love of God to work his will.

In this book are the prayers and litanies familiar to many in Mr. Myers' earlier book, *Prayers for Self and Society,* and an equal number of new prayers and meditations. This, like the earlier booklet, will be used in private prayer, in small groups, and in congregational worship.

E. G. R.

Children's Centers: A Guide for Those Who Care for and About Young Children, edited by Rose H. Alschuler, National Commission for Young Children. William Morrow. $1.50.

This volume contains, in compact form, a wealth of material on the day care of young children in groups. Persons interested will find here a clear and simple exposition of the philosophy of nursery education, together with detailed material on techniques and practices. The book includes material on play, on daily routines, on records, and on special services, such as health, nutrition, psychological services, and social services.

Chapters are devoted to staff and staff meetings, volunteers and in-service training, housing, and equipment. An annotated bibliography covering the main subdivisions of the field is included.

The adaptation of the nursery school to the problem of caring for children of war-working mothers is emphasized, and ways in which adjustments of limited space and materials can be made are described. Members of local day-care committees, physicians, nurses, and social workers will find this book valuable. E. G. R.

Hanover College
Counselling students? Remember Hanover! 116th year; Presbyterian; overlooking the Ohio; assets tripled recently; 350 students from twenty states; a year, $500-600; national fraternities and sororities; required Bible; extensive curriculum; experienced faculty.
Albert G. Parker, Jr., President, Hanover, Ind.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this service is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

Assignment in Brittany—with Pierre Aumont and Susan Peters. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) A Free Frenchman, acting under orders of the British Intelligence, impersonates a renegade countryman and enters a coastal town of Brittany to locate a submarine base. The action is tense and exciting as it reveals the daring co-operation of the villagers, who recognize their countryman's masquerade but aid in the confusion of the enemy. A rather too sentimental romance mars but does not seriously interfere with this otherwise well-told and acted story. The thrilling climax is reached in a realistic Commando raid. The cast is well chosen and the production good. **Mature—Family.**

Edge of Darkness: Revolt in Norway—with Errol Flynn, Ann Sheridan, Walter Huston, and Judith Anderson. (Warner.) Nazi flyers over Trollness see a Norwegian flag flying above the Norwegian town in which there is no sign of life. Upon landing, they find only a trail of death and destruction and no one of their garrison alive to tell the story. A flashback reveals the saga of the people of this small village who died heroically in revolt against their oppressors. The quiet waiting for ammunition from England, the desperate secret meetings, the brutal executioners, the timid, the brave all are revealed as the story unfolds, reaching its dreadful climax in the final tragic struggle of flame and fury. Some may consider the film too forceful, piling horror on horror, and resent, perhaps, the theatrical note of romance in the final scenes. In spite of this drawback, however, the film impressively reveals the courage of a free people as epitomized in a fine musical score, the theme of which is Martin Luther's great choral "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." **Family.**

The Human Comedy—with Mickey Rooney and Frank Morgan. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) This unusual picture has no plot. It is simply an account of the daily experiences of a California family—a widow, her daughter, and her three sons: the oldest, a soldier, killed in the war; Homer, a telegraph messenger (played by Mickey Rooney), who comes close to sorrow; the youngest, a little boy whose scenes with Homer carry the message of the picture—the value of human relationships. There are long speeches in the film that may be somewhat painfully sentimental to some but a source of comfort to others. It is a picture whose appeal will depend largely on the mood and need of the spectator. **Family.**

Spitfire—with Leslie Howard and David Niven. (R.K.O. Radio.) This film is a British-made biography of R. G. Mitchell, the designer of the Spitfire; it is also a history of English aviation between 1922 and the Battle of Britain. The action begins when Mitchell, watching gulls from Dover cliffs, conceives a revolutionary airplane design. The picturization continues through years of international triumphs to the building of the Spitfire, when, realizing England's danger, the designer hurries back from a holiday in Germany. Leslie Howard is hero, director, and producer, and the picture is all that such a triple role might lead one to expect. **Family.**

My Friend Flicka—with Roddy McDowall and Preston Foster. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) Based on Mary O'Hara's original, this film is the tender and understanding story of the love of a boy on a Wyoming ranch for a wild, high-spirited colt. Though a simple tale, simply told, its small crises cause a curious tension. It matters very much whether the big stallion stops the horse stampede and whether the colt "Flicka" lets herself be halter broken. This is a film whose beauty and rare gentleness are a constant delight. **Family.**

The Next of Kin—with Basil Sidney and Mary Clare. (Universal.) An exciting and instructive English picture dealing with enemy spy activities. A series of dramatic sequences show how bits of idle talk, pieced together, may reveal a pattern of information to the enemy. The audience is allowed to see from their inception the making of plans for a Commando attack on the coast of France. They watch, as spies gather bit by bit seemingly unrelated information thoughtlessly dropped by civilians and even by the troops themselves. The raid, as a result, is anticipated by the enemy and almost fails to achieve its objective. The acting throughout is excellent, and the climax, showing the actual landing, terribly realistic. **Family.**

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